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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/. . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2578th MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 9 May 1985, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. Birabhongse KASEMSRI (Thailand)

Present: The representatives of the following States: Australia, Burkina Faso, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, India, Madagascar, Peru, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2578)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. Letter dated 6 May 1985 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17156)

The meeting was called to order at 4 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 6 May 1985 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17156)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at the 2577th meeting, I invite the representative of Nicaragua to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Algeria, Brazil, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Mexico, the United Republic of Tanzania and Yugoslavia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Chamorro Mora (Nicaragua) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Djoudi (Algeria), Mr. Maciel (Brazil), Mr. Albornoz (Ecuador), Mr. Dinka (Ethiopia), Mr. Muñoz Ledo (Mexico), Mr. Lweno (United Republic of Tanzania) and Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bolivia, Colombia, Cuba, Cyprus, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Mongolia, Poland and Zimbabwe in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Gumucio Granier (Bolivia), Mr. Albán-Holguín (Colombia), Mr. Oramas Oliva (Cuba), Mr. Moushoutas (Cyprus), Mr. Knipping Victoria (Dominican Republic), Mr. Fajardo-Maldonado (Guatemala), Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Nyamdoo (Mongolia), Mr. Nowak (Poland) and Mr. Manzou (Zimbabwe) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda.

4. Mr. KRISHNAN (India): It is my pleasant duty first of all to convey to you, Sir, the greetings and felicitations of my delegation and myself on your assumption of the high office of President of the Security Council. Our two countries are linked together by age-old ties of culture and tradition and have close and cordial relations. We admire your diplomatic acumen and notable personal qualities. It is therefore a pleasure to see you guiding our work. We should like to pledge to you the assurance of our fullest co-operation in helping you discharge your onerous responsibilities. I should also like to pay a tribute to Mr. Javier Arias Stella of Peru, who conducted the business of the Council last month with his customary dignity and competence. His was a difficult presidency and he handled his responsibilities with commendable wisdom and skill.

5. This is the eighth occasion in a period of a little over two years on which Nicaragua has felt compelled to have recourse to the Security Council. That fact alone is indicative of the gravity of the steadily deteriorating situation that obtains in Central America and of the sense of insecurity that the Nicaraguan Government and people continue to experience, notwithstanding the understanding and support for and solidarity with their cause the world over. In spite of the valiant efforts of the Contadora Group to find a political solution to the problems of Central America—efforts which reached positive culmination in September of last year—the situation in the region continues to be marked by instability, exacerbated constantly by acts of external interference and pressure which are hardly conducive to the promotion of a political settlement.

6. Two years ago the Council reaffirmed the right of Nicaragua and of all the other countries of the area to live in peace and security free from outside interference. Resolution 530 (1983) of 19 May 1983, to which I refer, appealed urgently to the interested States to co-operate fully with the Contadora Group through a frank and constructive dialogue so as to resolve their differences and urged the Contadora Group to spare no effort to find solutions to the problems of the region and to keep the Security Council informed of the results of these efforts. That resolution also recalled all the relevant principles of the Charter of the United Nations, particularly those concerning the obligations of States to settle their disputes exclusively by peaceful means, not to resort to the threat or use of force and to respect the self-determination of peoples and the sovereign independence of all States.

7. Regrettably, that important Security Council resolution—as indeed the equally significant resolution adopted in its wake by the General Assembly, resolution 38/10—remains to be implemented. Military action of various types against Nicaragua has intensified. Acts of interference and intervention, direct and indirect, against Nicaragua have continued. Statements have been made which fly directly in the face of the concept of the sovereignty and independence of States. The process of dialogue between two of the States directly concerned has been interrupted. New forms of pressure and coercion have been brought into play. As a result, the people of Nicaragua have been subjected to great hardship and distress, and the economy of the country has suffered considerable disruption and damage. The only silver lining is the fact that the Contadora Group continues resolutely to pursue its objectives—that too in spite of serious road-blocks and attempts to undermine its endeavours.

8. In his statement yesterday [*2577th meeting*] the representative of Nicaragua explained with clarity the developments that have compelled Nicaragua once again to seek redress by the Council of the latest measures taken against that country. The General Assembly has reaffirmed the principle that no State may use or encourage the use of economic, political or any other type of measures to coerce another State in order to obtain from it the subordination of the exercise of its sovereign rights and to secure from it advantages of any kind.

9. It is relevant to recall that the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has been asked by the Seventh Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries to monitor closely the events in the Central American subregion. Accordingly, the Bureau met in urgent session two days ago to hear a statement by the representative of Nicaragua and to consider the situation arising out of the latest developments in the Central American context. It issued a communiqué in this regard which has since been circulated in document S/17163. Allow me to quote from it the following excerpts:

"The Bureau ... recalled the ... communiqué of the Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau, held at Managua in January 1983, in which the Ministers had condemned the use of pressures and economic sanctions against Nicaragua, as well as the final communiqué of the Meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegation of Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the United Nations General Assembly, held in New York in October 1984, in which the Ministers renewed their strong condemnation of the use of economic measures as a means of exerting political and economic coercion against non-aligned countries in violation of their sovereign rights and decisions.

"In this regard, the Bureau strongly condemned the embargo and other coercive economic measures recently adopted against Nicaragua. The Bureau believes that these new acts of political and economic coercion, in addition to the military action, are to be seen in the context of a larger plan to destabilize and topple the Government of Nicaragua and that they further endanger peace and security in the region.

"The Bureau also believes that the aforesaid measures are contrary to the norms that govern the international legal and economic order and that they undermine the efforts carried out by the Contadora Group in the quest for a political and negotiated solution to the serious problems afflicting the Central American region. In this context, the Bureau once again emphasized the need for political and negotiated solutions to the problems of the region. It reiterated its full support for the efforts of the Contadora Group and called on it, in the light of the recently adopted coercive economic measures, to analyse the situation and to accelerate its process of consultations and negotiations with a view to expediting a political solution. In this regard, it also called upon the United States Government to resume the process of bilateral discussions with the Government of Nicaragua towards reaching concrete accords based on mutual respect and the right of self-determination.

"The Bureau reiterated its firm solidarity with Nicaragua and called for an immediate end to all threats, attacks, hostile acts and coercive economic measures against the people and Government of that country."

10. The elements I have just read out represent the essence of the position taken by the non-aligned countries with respect to the trade embargo and other coercive measures adopted against Nicaragua. I can add little to this clear and unequivocal pronouncement on behalf of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

11. The Government of India has been following the developments in Central America with serious con-

cern. As we have had occasion to point out on more than one occasion in the past, it is our belief that the cause of the tensions in the region lies in historical factors which have resulted in deep-rooted economic and social ills suffered by the countries of the region. It is the conviction of the Government of India that the tensions and disputes in the Central American region can be resolved only peacefully and through negotiations among all concerned. My Government has welcomed and expressed support for the efforts of the Contadora Group. I should like to reiterate on this occasion that support. We regret that the revised version of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*S/16775, annex*] which had emerged as a result of these efforts could not be concretized and formalized because of new difficulties and obstacles that had arisen. Nevertheless, we hope that, buttressed by the solidarity and support of the entire international community and with the good will and co-operation of all the States concerned, the Contadora Group will be able to reinvigorate its efforts so that these differences can be amicably settled to common satisfaction and the obstacles impeding progress removed. In this context, we look forward to a constructive conclusion of the meeting to be held at Panama City next week with the participation of all the Contadora Group States and the five Central American countries.

12. I should like to take this opportunity to reaffirm the solidarity of my Government and people with the Government and people of Nicaragua, a friendly and fellow non-aligned country. We respect the right of Nicaragua, as indeed of every State, to be master of its own destiny. We note the will of the Nicaraguan people to mould a new future for their nation, and we support their efforts to build a new society on the basis of their popular revolution, free from all foreign interference or pressure. We affirm the sovereign right of every country to pursue its own political and social economic system.

13. It is our profound conviction that peace in Central America cannot rest on the foundation of policies of intervention, interference and intimidation, or of the threat or use of force, nor of coercive measures of any kind whatsoever. For any peace to be enduring, it must be based on an acceptance of the principles of political and socio-economic pluralism by States not only for themselves, but also for the region as a whole; on scrupulous observance of the principles of non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of States; and on a positive appreciation of the endemic problems of this troubled part of the world and a constructive and co-operative approach to their resolution. It is incumbent upon the Security Council and all its members to grasp this reality and to shape our actions accordingly.

14. Mr. ARIAS STELLA (Peru) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: Mr. President, may I begin by extending to you my delegation's sincerest congratulations on your assumption of the stewardship of our deliberations for the month of May. Knowing, as we do, your intelligence and ability, we are convinced that the Council will be able to achieve positive and fruitful results.

15. We are meeting here at the request of the representative of Nicaragua for the purpose of "considering the extremely serious situation which the Central American region is facing at the present time" [*see S/17156*]. At this time, as has been stated by the representative of Nicaragua, his country has been subjected to unilateral measures of economic coercion and discrimination which might affect fundamental principles of international law and further aggravate the fragile stability that exists in Central America.

16. My delegation wishes to state in this connection that Peru's position is based on considerations of a normative, political and regional nature which I shall now spell out.

17. First, the Charter of the Organization enshrines, among other principles, that of self-determination, non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States, respect for obligations entered into under international treaties and the peaceful settlement of disputes. The Organization of American States, for its part, in article 19 of its charter, prohibits the use of coercive measures to force the sovereign will of another State.

18. These principles constitute the fundamental basis of Peru's foreign policy. On the international scene that policy is also regulated by the doctrine of non-alignment which requires, *inter alia*, respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of all nations and their right to think and act independently.

19. The trade embargo decreed by the United States Government against Nicaragua affects these principles and also ignores the important progress achieved by the international community throughout the long process towards harmonization of inter-State relations. This is the case of the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, adopted at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly by resolution 2625 (XXV); the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, in Assembly resolution 3281 (XXIX); and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, whose main principle, the most-favoured-nation clause, is thus being infringed. We must also mention our concern at the failure faithfully to abide by the specific procedures provided for in a bilateral instrument in force between the United States and Nicaragua.

20. Therefore, and against the background I have given, the Government of Peru believes that the measures adopted run counter to principles and norms of international law and constitute a major error and an action that is out of proportion in relations between two States, thus evincing the lack of symmetry and the imbalance that characterize political and economic relations within the American continent, where excessive

power is concentrated on one side, with but meagre and fragmented power on the other.

21. The situation we are facing seems to have emerged from an improper assessment of the political priorities on the continent. The conflict in Central America is worsening by virtue of an obvious error of perception with respect to the nature of Latin American problems and of what contemporary relations within the hemisphere should be like. There is an insistence on attributing the conflicts that overwhelm Central America today solely to the East-West confrontation, to the detriment of a more realistic view of the hemisphere that could enable a proper assessment of the obstacles in the way of the development of the Central American peoples and open the way to a responsibility and a task shared by the inter-American community.

22. There seems to be insufficient recognition that today Latin America is going through an extraordinary economic and social crisis, perhaps the greatest in its history. It is overwhelmed by the burden of a foreign debt that is paralysing its productive capacity, to the detriment of the basic needs of its population. The satisfaction of those needs is its first priority and will determine the solidity of the democratic process in Latin America. This profound economic imbalance has a corollary in the political arena, in the instability generated by the progressive accumulation of unsatisfied needs and the flood of demands by the population upon the State institutions. Latin American democracy is being built today in an economic vacuum and in the face of international indifference.

23. Nevertheless, Latin America is striving to do away with the political vices that had associated it for too long with arbitrariness and submission; it is gradually and steadfastly building a regional home for democracy and social justice. Thus today it is taking up the challenges of an international plan for which it has acquired considerable experience and maturity.

24. As an example of this conceptual and political autonomy and as a basic requirement for grasping the problems of Latin America, we must understand the efforts made by the Contadora Group, efforts which are clearly affected by the measures we are discussing today. Contadora, created as the product of the diplomatic imagination and political will of four Latin American countries, interprets regional tradition and feeling through the search for a peaceful and negotiated settlement of the Central American problem. In this connection, the Government of Peru reiterates its support for the Contadora initiative, which is the sole viable diplomatic option for dealing with the serious tensions affecting the region and for bringing about a genuine democratic order in the whole isthmus.

25. Peru's support for Contadora is not a mere reflex action nor mere loyal adherence to the intense and complex efforts of four friendly countries that today symbolize the Latin American will to carry out its own peace plan in that convulsed region. The Contadora Act is the most serious effort at Latin American regional political interaction in recent times. Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela have shouldered the responsibility of helping the Central American republics determine their own independent and sovereign course. Contadora is truly the sole realistic alternative to war. Our concern, in the context of this debate, is based on the fact that behind the historical lack of understanding that characterizes the unbalanced North-South relationship in the American hemisphere and the threat from the financial community today to the survival of democracy in Latin America lies, despite the positive-sounding rhetoric, a tacit blockade of Latin American diplomacy.

26. If that is allowed to happen, we shall be embarking on a path of no return. To give tangible form to the trend towards postponing *sine die* the Contadora framework for a peaceful settlement—which envisages an overall set of possible solutions to the security, political and socio-economic questions affecting Central America—would only lead directly to the forced isolation of Nicaragua or the erosion of its Government. It is in that context that we must view the economic measures recently taken and, consequently, our rejection of them. My Government believes that they are a serious mistake and that they serve only to confirm the structural lack of understanding from which the political life of this continent suffers so acutely.

27. A few weeks ago our compatriot, the writer Mario Vargas Llosa, drew the conclusion in an essay that Nicaragua is still engaged in the search for final answers, that it is far from being the satellite of any Power and that that country, under strict State control, still has a pluralistic society.

28. Nicaragua's isolation confronts it with a cold-war option, which in our opinion is neither unavoidable nor desired by Nicaragua's leaders. It is the historical duty of Latin America to prevent such a process, so that Nicaragua may move from the outdated East-West context into a new, inter-American agenda.

29. Nicaragua is today at perhaps the most crucial moment of its history. Its Government has expressed its will to strengthen and improve Nicaraguan democratic institutions. Every democracy is a system and a process. As such, it is in a constant state of renewal and is constantly faced with new challenges and obstacles, which must be overcome without outside pressures that can distort the sense of that autonomous quest to which every people has an inherent right.

30. My delegation deeply wishes this hope of America not to be distorted by the present adverse and obsessive circumstances. Hence, we call on the United States and Nicaragua, abiding by the principles on which this world Organization is based and by the tenets of the Contadora Act, to reach a comprehensive and definitive solution to the situation in Central America.

31. Mr. SORZANO (United States of America): Mr. President, as this is the first time the Council has met in formal session since you assumed the Chair, I should like to express the great satisfaction it gives my Government, and me personally, to see you presiding over the Council. This is of course a historic occasion for Thailand, as this is the first time Thailand has ever served as President of the Security Council. The United States and Thailand have enjoyed the closest of relations for over a century, and the affection and high regard in which the American people hold Thailand are considerable. My countrymen have a high esteem for the achievements of Thai culture, and they respect the political independence, and the independent-mindedness, of Thailand. Thailand was one of the few countries which escaped the wave of imperial expansion that swept over the world in the latter half of the nineteenth century—in no small part because of the effectiveness of its diplomacy. That legacy of diplomatic skill has a thoroughly worthy practitioner in you, Mr. President. I think it no understatement to say that your diplomatic talents, your knowledge of this institution and your political judgement are much admired in these halls. The Council is indeed privileged to conduct its work this month under your leadership.

32. I should also like to express the gratitude of my delegation for the professional, judicious and fair manner in which your predecessor, the representative of Peru, Mr. Javier Arias Stella, conducted his presidency of the Council.

33. As the members of the Security Council are well aware, the Central American question has been before the Council for just over three years. During that brief time the Government of Nicaragua has come before the Council no less than nine times. Today's meeting, therefore, should be seen as an extension of the situation in Central America. In that light it is useful to recapitulate briefly the main themes which have recurred throughout this three-year-long debate, in order to assess which ones have been borne out by the events in the region and which ones have not. That determination will, in turn, help us in appraising the credibility of the new Nicaraguan charges.

34. The nine Nicaraguan requests to convene the Security Council have manifested a tedious regularity and a transparency of purpose. On every occasion that Nicaragua has appeared before the Council, it has sought either to forestall the progress of the Contadora process or to interfere in the internal affairs of the United States by seeking to influence our domestic political debate about Central America. In either case Nicaragua has deliberately misused the Council and converted it into a mini-General-Assembly and a propaganda forum precisely at a time when the Secretary-General, the members of the Council and other concerned United Nations Members have been seeking ways to strengthen the functioning of the United Nations organ principally responsible for international peace and security. These repeated abuses of the Security Council have naturally resulted in a widespread critical appraisal of the effects on the United Nations of Nicaragua's multilateral diplomacy. Despite these feelings, the Council has once again been convened at Nicaragua's request to hear yet another version of its old accusation that Nicaragua is the victim of American aggression and/or that it is in imminent danger of being invaded by the United States.

35. This often-repeated charge ought to be thoroughly discredited by now. The Sandinists have made it a number of times—and I would merely mention these dates: 25 March 1982, 2 April 1982, 15 November 1982, 9 May 1983, 30 March 1984, 2 April 1984, 2 October 1984, 25 October 1984, 9 November 1984, and so on and so forth—but on none of those occasions was the charge made by more prominent a figure than Comandante Ortega, the most authoritative Sandinist spokesman, during the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly last year; nor was any accusation so definitively refuted. It will be remembered that on that occasion [*16th meeting*] Comandante Ortega not only predicted an American invasion of Nicaragua but was so bold as to specify 15 October 1984 as the actual date for that supposed invasion. As we all know, 15 October came and went and the "invasion" failed to materialize. Despite this embarrassment, and despite our patient and repeated denials, Nicaragua still persists in its claim that the United States is preparing an invasion. So let me reiterate here that the United States is not preparing to invade Nicaragua.

36. The prediction of an imminent United States invasion was not, of course, the only Sandinist claim to prove groundless. There have been many others. Their accumulation suggests that, much as in economics, where inflation devalues the currency, the inflated claims of the Sandinists have hopelessly devalued their credibility, to the point that today they are not worth much more than the cordoba, the Nicaraguan currency, which has also experienced a dramatic devaluation under the Sandinist régime.

37. During this same period, before this very Council and in response to the Sandinist allegations previously mentioned, the United States has stated its views about the situation in Central America. We hope we may be forgiven, if at the risk of seeming to be immodest, we point out that our own statements concerning the situation in Central America, and more specifically in Nicaragua, have been borne out by subsequent developments. Let me now proceed to review them.

38. We have often stated our belief that the peoples of Central America have democratic aspirations which, if not arbitrarily repressed, will produce popularly elected Governments even in the face of difficult economic, social and political obstacles. We expressed that view four years ago during the region's darkest moment, when it seemed imprudent just to hope for a small amelioration of the political conditions in the region. We were aware, of course, that our views were not universally shared and that legions of sceptics

doubted the possibility of holding honest and fair elections, of establishing popularly elected Governments and of maintaining a general respect for human rights in the region. But our faith in the strength of the democratic impulse has been vindicated, and the sceptics have been proved wrong by the peoples of Central America which in a number of separate instances have demonstrated their desire, their willingness and their capacity to govern themselves under democratically constituted Governments.

39. During that same period, however, the United States was pointing out to this Council that not all countries in the region were headed in the same democratic direction and that there were increasingly strong signals that the Sandinists were not the idealistic democratic reformers that they were commonly assumed to be. Indeed, early in this debate we described the accumulating indications of the anti-democratic style, spirit and behaviour of the Sandinists. We highlighted their disregard for human and political rights, their denial of pluralism, their contempt for elections and their reliance on violence and naked power to sustain their régime. We suggested that, given their penchant for military uniforms and symbolism, we were witnessing the rebirth—in a transmuted form, to be sure—of the traditional military dictatorship which we all had hoped Nicaragua had finally transcended.

40. Regrettably—for let me be clear that we take no comfort in the accuracy of our predictions—those early predictions have been substantiated not only by such anti-democratic statements as those that I cited during the last General Assembly session, articulated by Commander Bayardo Arce, but by the Nicaraguan people themselves who, on the basis of their comparative experience of Somoza and the Sandinists, have concluded that *el Frente y Somoza son la misma cosa*, which, roughly translated, means "the Sandinist Front and Somoza are the same thing". It is true that today one still finds in some quarters a lingering sympathy for the Sandinists. Yet even in those quarters no one here attempts to defend the farcical "election" held last year by the Sandinists or to claim that the Sandinists are democrats, or even that they have democratic inclinations. As a matter of fact, based on both the overt behaviour and the declarations of the Sandinists themselves, the conclusion is no longer avoidable that the Sandinists are committed Marxist-Leninists intent on converting Nicaragua into another totalitarian satellite of the Soviet Union. On this matter too our early apprehensions have been borne out, and for that reason we do not believe that it was simply a gross tactical mistake for Commander Ortega to have gone to Moscow. In fact, the visit can be regarded as an inadvertent mistake only by those who have been inattentive to both the behaviour and the public statements of the Sandinists. If we take those aspects into consideration, then, the visit was but a logical extension of the very well-defined trajectory of recent months.

41. Over the last four years we have often stated that the Sandinists are bent on the intimidation, destabilization and subversion of their neighbours. The evidence behind this statement is so massive as to be impossible to overlook. When the Sandinists came into power in 1979, and long before the inception of internal armed opposition, Nicaragua launched a military buildup without precedent in Central America. In less than six years the Sandinists have developed a military machine with fire-power and mobility unmatched in the region. By early 1985 their active-duty force had more than 62,000 troops, and their total strength, including all regular, reserve, militia and security forces, now exceeds 119,000, not counting the thousands of Cuban and Soviet-bloc military and security advisers already in Nicaragua. They also have at least 340 tanks and armoured vehicles, more than 70 long-range howitzers and rocket launchers and 30 helicopters, including half a dozen fast, well-armed attack helicopters. Since all these military forces and equipment are disproportionate to the country's population, economy and legitimate defence needs, their real purpose can only be to intimidate and coerce Nicaragua's neighbours, at least one of which does not even have an army.

42. Nicaragua's efforts to destabilize and subvert its neighbours also started soon after the Sandinists came to power, and they continue unabated to this day. In fact, over a period of almost six years, the policies and actions of the Nicaraguan Government have not moderated but have become increasingly aggressive, heightening the threat to neighbouring countries. I need not now recite the long list of Nicaragua's subversive efforts against its neighbours but will confine myself to the most recent one, when just a couple of weeks ago seven agents of the Nicaraguan security service were captured in Honduras. The Nicaraguan agents admitted that this was their third clandestine trip in six months in which they had transported arms from Nicaragua to Honduran guerrillas, whom they also assisted in recruiting and training.

43. Allow me to fill in the picture I have been drawing of the regional developments over the last few years by devoting just a few remarks to the negotiating efforts of the Contadora Group. The United States has, from the inception of the Contadora process, supported it as the best hope for a negotiated and peaceful regional solution for Central America. We still do. But candour requires that we express our continuing scepticism about Nicaragua's commitment to the letter and spirit of Contadora's 21 objectives. We wonder how others can acquiesce in the Sandinists' claim that they accept the Contadora objectives while Nicaragua continues to subvert and destabilize its neighbours, continues to increase disproportionately its war-making potential, continues to reject all attempts at internal reconciliation, continues to develop anti-democratic governmental structures, continues to impose press censorship and continues to drift further away from non-alignment. We urge the Contadora Group to continue in its efforts, and we call on the Sandinists to demonstrate their acceptance of Contadora's 21 objectives by taking concrete measures towards their implementation.

44. To sum up what I have just said, on the one hand we believe our version of the political, military and diplomatic developments in the region over the past few years to be compelling both in its general thrust and in the evidence that can be brought to bear in its support. On the other hand, the Sandinist allegations of American intentions to overthrow their régime or to mount a military invasion of Nicaragua not only lack tangible evidence but have been disproved by the mere passing of the specific dates when the supposed invasions were to take place.

45. Let me now turn to the most recent allegation by Nicaragua, to the effect that our recently imposed trade embargo constitutes an act of aggression and a violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the charter of the Organization of American States, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the United States-Nicaragua Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation.[1] Frankly, we regard these as astonishing charges. Let me elaborate.

46. Customary international law does not oblige a State to trade with any other State. Common sense suggests, and international practice confirms, that in general a State is free to choose its own trading partners. In this particular case before the Council there are a number of agreements which set forth rules relevant to continued trade. All of these agreements, without exception, permit a State to exercise its customary law rights and restrict trade in the interest of its own national security. In fact, it would be very surprising if a State were compelled to put its commercial interests ahead of its national security interest. It is hard to believe that many States would accept such a limitation. The United States does not, and the measures we have taken are taken solely under our own sovereign prerogatives. They are carefully tailored so as not to affect third countries or raise questions of extraterritoriality.

47. Our action does not violate the United States-Nicaraguan Friendship, Commerce and Navigation Treaty. Neither does it violate the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The Friendship, Commerce and Navigation Treaty contains a provision exempting either party's actions taken in pursuance of "its essential security interests". In article XXI (1) we read:

> "The present Treaty shall not preclude the application of measures ... necessary to fulfil the obligations of a Party for the maintenance or restoration of international peace and security, or necessary to protect its essential security interests".

Similarly, article XXI of the General Agreement expressly permits measures a party "considers necessary for the protection of its essential security interest ... taken in time of war or other emergency in international relations."

48. We are not the first to invoke this provision. In 1961 the Government of Ghana relied on article XXI of the General Agreement to impose a boycott on trade with Portugal because of that country's policies in Angola. The then Ghanaian representative noted:

> "Under this article each contracting party was the sole judge of what was necessary in its essential security interest. There could, therefore, be no objection to Ghana regarding the boycott of goods as justified by security interests. It might be observed that a country's security interests might be threatened by a potential as well as an actual danger. The Ghanaian Government's view was that the situation in Angola was a constant threat to the peace of the African continent and that any action which, by bringing pressure to bear on the Portuguese Government, might lead to a lessening of this danger, was therefore justified in the essential security interests of Ghana."

49. Our actions with regard to Nicaraguan trade, therefore, are not without precedent. As a matter of fact, economic measures of this type are commonly recognized and frequently used as a legitimate foreign policy instrument. Indeed, as I look around the Council I note that there is hardly a member that is not using, has not used, or has not expressed a willingness to use similar measures. Thus, for instance, a number of our Council colleagues who were non-belligerents during the Falklands/Malvinas conflict imposed strict economic sanctions against Argentina. We cannot believe that they are now ready to condemn their own measures as a violation of the Charter and as an illegitimate attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. Neither can we believe that other members of the Council that already have economic sanctions against, restrictions on commercial air traffic with, and embargoes on trade with South Africa are ready to declare that those policies are illegal and contrary to the Charter's provisions. Nor can we believe that a number of other countries that routinely demand the imposition of economic and trade sanctions against selected nations are now willing to concede that those requests are illegal and contrary to the Charter.

50. But that is not all. More pertinent to the case at hand, let me remind the Council that in the exercise of their sovereign rights a number of countries—including members of Contadora—impose now, and have imposed in the past, economic measures against other countries. Finally, let me recall that in 1979 the Sandinists themselves did not object, but, on the contrary, encouraged the imposition of economic sanctions against the Somoza régime, and that, according to a Reuters report of 18 July 1979, the foreign ministers of the five Andean Group countries—Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Colombia and Venezuela—threatened to press for an oil embargo against Nicaragua if the Sandinists were not allowed to come to power. Other regional Powers, including another present member of Contadora, took similar measures.

51. I have made the preceding points not with an accusatory intent, but, rather, to ask for the Council's

understanding that the United States actions with regard to trade with Nicaragua are not dissimilar to the actions that most, if not all, of the Council's members have taken at one time or another. On the face of this, to condemn or, depending on formulations, to deplore or to regret the American embargo of trade with Nicaragua is to set aside truth and fairness and to embrace the double standard.

52. Let me now turn to the draft resolution that has been circulating informally among Council members. The draft resolution, if adopted, would stand both law and logic on its head. It would condemn a United States embargo on American trade with Nicaragua as somehow violative of "the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States", while standing mute in the face of actual massive Nicaraguan intervention in the internal affairs of its neighbouring States in supporting Marxist insurgencies. Those interventions, which we have already catalogued—though, to be sure, not exhaustively—in our earlier presentations before the Security Council, are in violation not only of the principle of non-intervention but of the principle of the prohibition of the use of force, directly or indirectly, against the territorial integrity or political independence of Member States.

53. Specifically, Nicaragua's campaign of subversion and destabilization in Central America has violated Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter of the United Nations, articles 3, 18, 20 and 21 of the revised charter of the Organization of American States, and article 1 of the Rio Treaty.[2]

54. Nicaragua's actions are also contrary to the principles enunciated in paragraph 3 of General Assembly resolution 290 (IV) of 1949 on the essentials of peace and the 1970 Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, annexed to Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV).

55. Today, in "Alice in Wonderland" fashion, Nicaragua seeks to divert attention from its campaign of destabilization and interference in the internal affairs of others by attempting to focus attention on the American response.

56. But, clearly, as I have mentioned previously, there is nothing in any bilateral or multilateral agreement to which the United States is party that prevents the United States from—at the very least—taking steps to ensure that its own national conduct, its own trade policy, in no way abets the campaign of subversion which Nicaragua has undertaken. Clearly, the national emergency economic powers invoked by the President of the United States, pursuant to United States law, are testimony to the gravity which we attach to this concern. The United States Government has not only a right, but an obligation, not to aid, however indirectly, the secret war waged in Central America by Nicaragua.

57. If we are to operate in a world where there is no distinction between aggression and self-defence, between subversion and responses thereto—a direction in which the resolution I have been citing would push us—then we shall have totally defeated the great purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and the great principles upon which this institution stands. If we permit Nicaragua, which has flagrantly violated not only principles of non-intervention and non-use of force but also the self-determination and human rights provisions of the Charter—a Government which has refused to implement the provisions of the extraordinary Organization of American States resolution which gave it legitimacy—if we permit such a Government to cover over its aggressive conduct by characterizing United States trade actions taken in response as illegal, then, surely, we are seriously damaging the very foundations of this institution.

58. Finally, allow me to express what the United States Government and the American people desire and hope for the Nicaraguan people. I can find no better expression than the 30 April 1985 editorial in the Nicaraguan newspaper *La Prensa* that did not see the light of day because it was censored in its entirety by the Sandinist Office of Communication. Given the Sandinist fondness for extensive quotations from American publications, I believe it fitting that I should now quote to them from *La Prensa*. Indeed, it is my distinct honour to do so and in so doing to demonstrate to the world that, despite the tightening Sandinist oppression, the spirit of freedom, honour and independence is still very much alive amongst the Nicaraguan people.

59. The editorial is entitled "Ten points which won't be found in Moscow" and reads as follows:

> "After the Congressional denial of President Reagan's request for $14 million, it is not in Russia where the solution to the tremendous problems of Nicaragua will be found or where peace will be obtained. As much as Russia might want (for its own interest as a major Power) to help us, our orbit is in the American continent; our neighbourhood is democratic and our economic destruction already so profound that we would continue in decline, socializing misery and ruining ourselves for a fanatical ideological whim that we wish to call 'sovereignty'.
>
> "In order to pay Russia for its favours we will have to accentuate our pro-Soviet alignment, and it is as much a lack of sovereignty to fall into the claws of the eagle as it is to fall into the paws of the bear.
>
> "The destruction in Nicaragua will not stop, nor will Nicaraguans cease to perish because of a treaty with Moscow. The only treaty that can save us is one that all Nicaraguans sign.
>
> "The following are the ten basic points of such a treaty:
>
> "1. A true non-alignment:

"2. The reign of law, without retroactive laws, with judicial procedures, respect for human rights and with the freedom to denounce abuses and to find protection from abuses;

"3. The political neutrality of the army and the police;

"4. The elimination of the Committees for the Defence of Sandinism, instruments of partisan pressure against the freedom of the citizen and obstacles impossible to overcome for the functioning of democracy;

"5. Total religious freedom (the State must respect absolutely the realm of faith and conscience and the work of the Christian churches);

"6. Educational freedom and the inalienable right of parents to choose for their children the education they want;

"7. A mixed economy, which is not a matter simply defined as the percentage of private property that exists, but rather the legal protection of the entrepreneur and property owner, which are currently subject to arbitrary confiscation and the lawless intervention of the State. For this reason, this point requires revision of all unjust expropriations;

"8. Freedom of expression, and freedom of organization and of assembly for political parties. The right of access to the electronic media (television). Strict equality of access for the party in power and all other parties;

"9. Free trade unions;

"10. Total and complete amnesty."

The editorial concludes:

"These are the ten basic points for the attainment of peace, a peace which is not in Manzanillo, nor in Moscow, but in Nicaragua: it is to save the revolution that belongs to all Nicaraguans, the deviation from which is causing us death and destruction. They are the ten points for Nicaragua's return to a democratic republican Government."

60. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Mexico. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

61. Mr. MUÑOZ LEDO (Mexico) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: On behalf of my delegation, I congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council, a high post reflecting the great virtues of impartiality and fine diplomatic skill that you possess. We are convinced that you will be able to guide this debate to a positive conclusion, a debate that is so crucial for the future of international relations and the stability of our hemisphere.

62. I thank the members of the Council for this opportunity once again to speak about the grave concern of the Government of Mexico over the sensitive situation prevailing in Central America, a situation which runs the risk of becoming even more serious owing to actions that jeopardize the international legal order and the right of peoples to self-determination and undermine diplomatic channels for negotiation and understanding between the parties.

63. At the beginning of the debate [*2577th meeting*] we listened to the statement of the representative of Nicaragua, in which he considered some of the main events of the Central American crisis and the recent measures which greatly affect his country and which, by and large, have been interpreted as an escalation of regional tensions and a coercive measure against a State Member of the Organization taken in violation of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

64. It is a publicly known fact that as from 7 May the United States Government suspended its trade relations with Nicaragua, including cancellation of sea and air navigation between the two nations.

65. The proscription of coercive economic measures aimed at putting pressure on the sovereign will of a State is one of the fundamental principles of international law that has been enshrined in numerous multilateral agreements and instruments.

66. We would refer to the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, adopted in 1970 by the General Assembly by resolution 2625 (XXV), which stipulates:

"No State or group of States has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State. Consequently, armed intervention and all other forms of interference or attempted threats against the personality of the State or against its political, economic and cultural elements, are in violation of international law.

"No State may use or encourage the use of economic, political or any other type of measures to coerce another State in order to obtain from it the subordination of the exercise of its sovereign rights and to secure from it advantages of any kind.

...

"States shall conduct their international relations in the economic, social, cultural, technical and trade fields in accordance with the principles of sovereign equality and non-intervention".

67. The inter-American system is itself based on the principle of non-intervention. The charter of the Organization of American States lays down in article 19 that

"No State may use or encourage the use of coercive measures of an economic or political character in order to force the sovereign will of another State and obtain from it advantages of any kind."

68. In addition, the Latin American Economic System has on a number of occasions considered the question of coercive measures. In September 1983, at its ninth special session, it condemned the application of such measures against countries of the region. At its tenth regular session, held in October 1984, the Latin American Council adopted another decision on coercive measures, in which it recalled the commitments undertaken by the contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and affirmed that the application of such measures undermined the peacemaking efforts of the Contadora Group.

69. Furthermore, there is a norm of customary international law to the effect that in times of peace trade ports should be open to international traffic and that access to such ports by vessels cannot be prevented in a discriminatory fashion because of their nationality.

70. In keeping with the relevant provisions of the Charter, the Security Council must determine in the light of the facts the measures that should be adopted to guarantee the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Member States and to establish peace and security in the Central American region.

71. Mexico deplores the fact that the diplomatic efforts undertaken by our Government to safeguard the essential principles of international coexistence in the geographical and cultural area closest to us to are impeded by acts of force. We know that our position is in keeping with the unanimous attitude of the international community in favour of a peaceful solution to the Central American conflict and with the historic determination of the peoples of Latin America to defend their sovereignty and independence in the context of international respect and co-operation.

72. At the end of September last year, at San José, Costa Rica, there was a joint meeting of the foreign ministers of Central American countries, the member countries of the European Economic Community, Spain, Portugal and the Contadora Group. Speaking on behalf of the latter, the Mexican Minister for Foreign Affairs said, "With respect to economic and social development, the Contadora Act gives expression to understandings in favour of development and Central American integration" and also contains "obligations to promote trade on an intrazonal and extraregional basis, and proscribes coercion in economic relations and discriminatory practices which are an obstacle to trade and economic ties between the countries".

73. At that meeting a proposal was made to activate co-operation between the countries of Western Europe and Central America in keeping with the support that such nations have consistently offered to the Contadora process. The participants emphasized the urgent need to promote trade between Central American countries and Europe, North America, Japan and Latin America. It is important to avoid any violation of the spirit and the letter of the commitments made in San José.

74. The principal aim of the Government of Mexico has been to guarantee in the Central American region, as in any other region, the right of self-determination and its practical corollary, political pluralism—pluralism that will make possible in each country the development of its own social organization and ensure for each State full sovereignty over its political and economic processes as well as the greatest freedom in their international relations.

75. Ideological differences between countries, like the diversity of their social traditions and structures, should not be made a reason for confrontation. In a complex and diverse world, international relations must be based on tolerance, genuine co-operation and justice, and all forms of discrimination, hostility and exclusivity must be set aside. Contemporary history has much to teach us regarding the grave dangers of acting in a way that runs counter to that objective.

76. Following the events that led to this debate the Government of Mexico formulated a statement in which it repeated that the harmonization of political agreements between the parties involved was the only appropriate way to settle the conflicts in the Central American region. My country stressed the urgent need to prevent tensions that might lead to confrontations and to avoid any friction that might lead to a generalized conflict in the area with consequences that would extend far beyond the Central American borders.

77. Mexico, together with the countries which have committed themselves to the Contadora process, has been promoting a responsible dialogue among all the States of the area, on political coexistence on the basis of mutual respect and economic and social co-operation. We want to prevent the Central American conflict from becoming one more element in the East-West confrontation. We have therefore reaffirmed the principle of non-alignment as the formula for peaceful, orderly and harmonious coexistence in Central America. Our ultimate purpose has been to put forward strictly Latin American formulas to solve the problems that must be dealt with and resolved by us alone.

78. Furthermore, Mexico has advocated the establishment of a frank, constructive dialogue on a basis of equality between the United States and Nicaragua and has offered the hospitality of its own territory for this purpose. The Manzanillo talks embodied the effective possibility of solving, by means of negotiations based on mutual respect, the differences between two sovereign States with which we maintain strong relations of friendship and co-operation.

79. At one time this dialogue led to a climate of détente and provided a basis for understanding which

could be strengthened relatively easily if the contacts could be resumed. We could once again set in motion the appropriate political mechanism to settle existing disagreements in a civilized way and prevent aggressive acts such as those which this Council now has to consider.

80. Mexico insists that regional differences must be resolved in keeping with the provisions of Chapter VI of the Charter. Economic coercion is incompatible with the objectives pursued in the process begun by Contadora. We renew our call to all States to respond effectively and clearly to the diplomatic action that we have undertaken. We invite the countries concerned to resume in a framework of dignity the dialogue that was interrupted.

81. The Central American crisis has been the subject of consideration by the Council for several years now and has also been on the agenda of the General Assembly. In its resolution 39/4, of 26 October 1984, the Assembly urged "all States, in particular those with ties to and interests in the region, to respect fully the purposes and principles of the Contadora Act."

82. Despite the unequivocal and unanimous pronouncement of the international community, aggressive designs are still clearly standing in the way of the Contadora peace-making efforts in Central America. The time has come to choose between peace and war, between imposition and dialogue, between lasting principles and transient passions.

83. Scrupulous respect for the principles of law and the practice of diplomatic negotiation in the search for genuine solutions to the problems of our time should be the constant norm in Member States. This is the best way of commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations: it should be celebrated not by ceremonies but by political decisions that confirm our desire for peace and justice.

84. Mr. LIANG Yufan (China) *(interpretation from Chinese)*: I am very pleased to see you, Sir, the distinguished representative of Thailand, a friendly neighbouring country of China, presiding over the meeting. The Chinese delegation warmly congratulates you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. We are sure that with your outstanding talent and rich experience in diplomacy you will enable the Council to accomplish the important tasks facing it in May in an excellent manner. I wish also to take this opportunity to express our thanks to your predecessor, Mr. Javier Arias Stella of Peru, for his valuable contributions made during his tenure of the presidency of the Council last month.

85. The international community has always been much concerned with the situation in Central America. The Security Council has been seized of this issue many times before and emphatically reaffirmed in its resolution 530 (1983) "the right of Nicaragua and of all the other countries of the area to live in peace and security, free from outside interference".

86. Both the Security Council and the General Assembly have adopted resolutions firmly supporting the effort made by the Contadora Group in seeking a peaceful solution to the Central American issue and urging all the parties concerned to render their co-operation to the Contadora Group. However, what bothers us is the fact that the United Nations resolutions on respecting the independence and sovereignty of all the countries of Central America have not been fully implemented and that there still exist various forms of outside interference, resulting in a continuously turbulent and intranquil situation in that region.

87. Recently the United States declared that it would impose a trade embargo against Nicaragua, which caused further deterioration in the relations between the two countries. Many countries have expressed their concern in this regard. The Chinese delegation has consistently advocated that disputes between States should be settled through peaceful negotiations in accordance with the basic norms guiding international relations and on a basis of equality. We maintain that the interference in the internal affairs of Nicaragua by the United States and its exertion of pressure on Nicaragua by imposing a trade embargo and through other measures constitute violations of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and will aggravate the tension in Central America, to the detriment of the peaceful solution of the problem of the region.

88. The Chinese delegation is of the view that the Central American question should be settled on a fair and just basis by the Central American countries through negotiations in accordance with the principles of non-interference in one another's internal affairs and national self-determination and free from any outside interference. The Contadora Group has made unremitting efforts in promoting a peaceful and negotiated settlement of the disputes among the parties concerned and has thus won widespread praise from the international community. The Chinese delegation wishes to reiterate here that China resolutely supports the Contadora Group in its effort for a peaceful solution of the Central American issue and hopes that the United States and the other parties concerned will respond with concrete actions to the call of the Contadora peace efforts so that the tension in Central America may be relaxed.

89. Mr. BIERRING (Denmark): Mr. President, first I wish to congratulate you most sincerely on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. I am sure that with your rich experience in diplomacy you will make a valuable contribution to the work of the Council, and I can assure you of the co-operation of the Danish delegation. Furthermore, you represent a country with which Denmark has always had special ties of friendship and co-operation.

I wish also to avail myself of this opportunity to express my admiration for the outstanding way in which your predecessor, the representative of Peru, Mr. Arias Stella, carried out his responsibilities last month.

90. Once again the Council is seized of the serious situation in the Central American region. Acts of violence leading to loss of human lives, misery and violation of human rights have long been a fact of daily life. The tense situation has for several years attracted the attention of the world and has been a cause of great concern to us all.

91. The crisis in Central America is closely related to the processes of change in which the countries of the region are immersed. The centuries-old social and economic injustices and oppression are at the root of the present situation. Just and durable solutions to the social inequalities and economic underdevelopment cannot be achieved by armed force, or by any other form of coercion. The escalation of violence offers no hope to the peoples of the region. Only economic and social reforms, a more equitable distribution of resources and a commitment to democratic systems of government through free elections can solve the underlying problems of the countries concerned. Respect for the fundamental principles of non-interference, the inviolability of national frontiers, self-determination without external pressure and the settlement of conflicts by peaceful means through negotiation is of overriding importance. Nothing is gained by drawing the problems of the area into an East-West context.

92. The main responsibility for the solution of regional problems lies with the countries in the region itself. My Government has therefore fully supported the peace efforts of the Contadora Group since they were initiated. The Contadora process constitutes a political and diplomatic effort with a potential for achievements of the greatest significance. The four Contadora countries, in close collaboration with all the Central American Governments concerned, have shown a persistent readiness to continue the process, despite difficulties encountered, and have indeed obtained remarkable results. But it is a fragile undertaking and demands of all parties directly or indirectly involved the utmost flexibility and restraint.

93. The Contadora process has gained support from the whole international community, without exception. In its unanimously adopted resolution 530 (1983), the Security Council commended the efforts of the Contadora Group and appealed urgently to the interested States to co-operate fully with the Group, while at the same time reaffirming the right of Nicaragua and of all the other countries of the area to live in peace and security, free from outside interference. These positions have since been supported in resolutions by the General Assembly, also adopted unanimously. This international consensus and support of the Contadora effort must be maintained.

94. Last September a conference of foreign ministers was held at San José between the States members of the European Community, Portugal and Spain, the States of Central America and the Contadora States. In the joint communiqué which was issued from that meeting the ministers reaffirmed their commitment to the objectives of peace, democracy, security and economic and social development and political stability in Central America. They inaugurated on that occasion a new structure of political and economic dialogue between Europe and Central America. The ministers also agreed to extend and diversify their mutual trade to the fullest possible extent and, taking into account the importance of economic development for the countries of Central America, the Community committed itself to do everything possible towards the development of the region within the context of its present and future programmes in support of developing countries.

95. In line with the belief in the value of trade and economic co-operation as expressed in the San José communiqué, my Government is of the firm view that the imposition of economic sanctions—though not violating general international law—will in no way help in solving the problems and reducing the conflicts of the region. It is understandable that the long-standing situation of instability and unrest in the region gives cause for concern to neighbouring countries. However, tension in the region will increase, and the embargo puts the Contadora process in serious jeopardy, thereby diminishing the only real hope for peace and prosperity in Central America.

96. The United States has demonstrated in the past, in the most magnanimous way, its readiness and ability to mount large-scale assistance to countries and regions in distress. The time has come to transform the crisis in Central America into an opportunity: to seize the impetus it provides and to use it not only to help the countries of the region to secure their freedom from aggression and violence but also to help them with their social and economic development.

97. Meanwhile we urgently appeal to the parties to refrain from any action which will further aggravate the situation.

98. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) *(interpretation from Russian):* First, I welcome you, Sir, the representative of Thailand, to the responsible post of President of the Security Council. We are certain that with your customary diplomatic acumen you will continue to guide the work of the Council this month successfully. I take this opportunity also to express our gratitude to the representative of Peru, Mr. Arias Stella, for the skilful—I would say masterly—way in which he carried out the functions of President during the month of April, which was by no means an easy month from the point of view of the Council's work.

99. Today is a special day for all mankind and for the United Nations. The peoples of the world are cele-

brating the fortieth anniversary of the victorious conclusion of the struggle against fascism, which had set out to gain world supremacy. That world-wide, historic victory was gained through the common efforts of various countries. In commemorating this great victory, the Soviet people, who contributed decisively to the overthrow of fascism in annihilating more than 70 per cent of Hitler's divisions, have not forgotten the major contribution made to the struggle against our common enemy by the peoples of the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition, the fighters in the national liberation armies, the partisans, the members of the underground, and those who participated in anti-fascist insurgencies and the resistance movement.

100. The military alliance that came about during the years of the war demonstrated the potential for co-operation that is inherent in the joint struggle for peace and a better future for mankind. Today a message has been issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union and the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union. Its title is "To the Peoples, Parliaments and Governments of All Countries" on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War. This message emphasizes that "one of the main lessons that have been learned is that aggression has to be resolutely and concertedly combated before the actual flames of war flare up."

101. Today, the Soviet Union is appealing to all peoples, parliaments and Governments to heed the voice of reason and, through joint and active efforts, to halt the gradual trend towards the abyss of nuclear catastrophe and to bar the way to a new war.

102. An important part in all this undoubtedly will have to be played by the United Nations. The message to which I have referred goes on to indicate that it is in the common interest of all countries to promote the enhanced effectiveness of the United Nations as an international tool for peace and security among peoples and in the implementation of the lofty goal proclaimed in its Charter: to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and to ensure that peoples live together in the world as good neighbours.

103. The delegation of the Soviet Union supported Nicaragua's request for an urgent meeting of the Security Council. We listened carefully to the statement made in this chamber by the representative of Nicaragua, Mr. Chamorro Mora. The facts cited in that excellently planned and balanced statement confirm that this request was well founded.

104. The tremendous alarm felt at the state of affairs in Central America has been quite clearly expressed today in the statements of a number of other States Members of the United Nations. Many speakers have expressed the general view of the Movement of Non-Aligned Contries, comprising approximately 100 States of the world. On 7 May this year, the Co-ordinating Bureau of that Movement considered the dangerous situation surrounding Nicaragua and categorically condemned the lawless actions directed against that country. In our opinion, the sentiments expressed in the communiqué adopted at that meeting [*S/17163, annex*] are completely warranted.

105. Over the past four years, problems connected with the situation in Central America have been a constant feature of the agenda of the Security Council. We have seen that, despite existing United Nations resolutions, the situation in that part of the world continues to deteriorate. It is becoming an increasingly dangerous source of international tension. There is one reason for this: the further escalation of anti-Nicaraguan action on the part of the United States, action aimed at interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign State and at the toppling of its legal Government. Preparations for the expansion of armed operations carried out by the Somozists and their allies are being accelerated and directly co-ordinated by United States personnel.

106. The spring of this year has been characterized by a further round in preparations by the United States forces in Central America, with clearly interventionist intentions. Evidence of this is the unprecedented number of United States servicemen who were assigned to that part of the world during the "Big Pine" and "Universal Trek" manoeuvres, as well as the fact that United States armoured technology has appeared here and that landing operations are being further perfected. The territories of certain Central American States are being turned more and more into a springboard for a devastating anti-Nicaraguan war.

107. Having embarked on the course of solving the problem of Central America by force, the United States has engaged in tactics of openly blocking any ways and means of effecting a political settlement in that part of the world. It is precisely the fault of the United States that the United States-Nicaraguan talks were broken off and that the peace efforts of the Contadora Group have been thwarted under contrived pretexts. Offhandedly, without backing its position up by any argumentation, Washington has rejected all constructive proposals made by the Nicaraguan Government and has ignored all its tenders of good will.

108. From time to time, pursuing obviously tactical purposes, the United States has not shrunk from resorting to manoeuvres designed to obfuscate the new, even more dangerous stage that has been reached in its aggressive policy in that part of the world. Under the guise of so-called peace plans, what is in fact being requested is a change once again in the internal structure of Nicaragua, changes in its foreign policy. A sovereign country is being instructed, in the form of an ultimatum, about which States it may maintain relations with and which States it may not maintain relations with. As was aptly stated in this connection by the President of Colombia, Belisario Betancur, these plans are no more and no less than "preparations for war".

109. It is a fact that it has become a matter of public record that there are plans to increase the total strength of counter-revolutionary units to a total of 35,000. At the same time, it has been directly acknowledged that there is a possibility that United States armed forces may be used against Nicaragua if Nicaragua does not yield to crude pressure and blackmail.

110. At the same time, as we know from information that has reached us, the Pentagon is actively working out the details of further military action to be carried out in Central America, based on its "experience" in Lebanon and Grenada. It would seem that the lessons of the not-so-distant past, including the past of 10 years ago, have not been properly learned. What the ancients said was true: whom the gods would destroy they first make mad.

111. All these acts have been carried out openly, flouting generally recognized principles of morality, international law and the Charter of the United Nations. Such a course of action cannot but arouse legitimate concern throughout the world and growing alarm and indignation within the United States itself.

112. The latest link in the chain of lawless actions was the imposition by the United States of a trade embargo and other discriminatory economic measures against Nicaragua. All this has been done in spite of established international principles and the bilateral and multilateral commitments entered into by the United States within the framework of the United Nations, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and other organizations. The clear purpose here is to damage the economy of a developing country and to bring its people to their knees by means of a trade blockade. It has not been concealed that these actions are intended to bolster the general interventionist policy practised against Nicaragua.

113. It is well known that unilateral political limitations on trade and arbitrary boycotts or sanctions of any kind create an atmosphere of tension and mistrust in international economic relations and undermine the legal basis of those relations.

114. In this connection it is not inappropriate to recall once again that, while imposing embargoes and blockades against States unwilling to act at the behest of Washington, the United States has for many years now stubbornly defended the racist régime of Pretoria against the imposition by the Security Council of effective international sanctions.

115. We should be very grateful to the United States delegation if it could explain to the Council why, whenever the question of imposing sanctions against South Africa arises, United States representatives assert that such action would not yield the desired result. They have claimed that what is needed in the case of the *apartheid* régime is "dialogue and constructive engagement". But in the case of Nicaragua sanctions have been imposed with consummate ease, with the obvious intention of precluding any possibility of a dialogue and the peaceful solution of the problem.

116. The statement made today by the representative of the United States only corroborates the arguments put forward by Nicaragua. The basic purpose of that statement was to attempt to justify increasing intervention by the United States in the affairs of that small country. He tried to "explain" why the United States should be interfering in the affairs of another country, but he said nothing about the main point at issue—who gave Washington the right to carry out such intervention? That is a question to which the Security Council would like an answer. So far it has received none.

117. The representative of the United States accused Nicaragua of some sort of intervention in the affairs of its neighbours. One wonders why those neighbours and other Latin American countries either have been silent or have spoken out against United States activities. Finally, when he asserted that some sort of special relationship exists between Nicaragua and the Soviet Union, the representative of the United States could cite only one fact: that President Ortega had visited Moscow. It would be rather stretching things to consider every visit by a head of State to another country's capital to be some sort of subversive activity. I think, by the way, that tomorrow President Ortega will be in Madrid.

118. The present events around Nicaragua must necessarily be considered in a broader context. As emphasized in his statement of 23 April this year by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev,

> "The United States openly claims the 'right' to intervene everywhere while ignoring, and sometimes riding roughshod over, the interests of other countries and peoples, as well as the traditions of international relations and existing treaties and agreements. It constantly creates sources of conflict and the threat of war by exacerbating the situation first in one part of the world, then in another. Today the United States is threatening the heroic people of Nicaragua with military violence, trying to deprive it of its freedom and sovereignty, as it did in the case of the people of Grenada."

119. The Soviet Union categorically rejects and condemns the policy of aggression, intervention in the internal affairs of Nicaragua and State terrorism which is being pursued against that country. It rises in defence of the inalienable rights of the Nicaraguan people to free, democratic and independent development, and it stands firmly behind that people in its struggle against the aggressive inroads of imperialism. This approach, which we maintain as a matter of principle, was confirmed during the recent visit to our country of a delegation from Nicaragua, headed by President Ortega.

120. A solution to the problems of Central America will be found not through strong-arm methods, ultimatums or embargoes, but only by seeking a peaceful settlement through negotiations, taking into account the legitimate interests of all countries in the area and respecting their sovereignty. It is still not too late to return to the path set out in the Charter of the United Nations. That is why the Soviet Union is in favour of giving a further impetus to the activities of the Contadora Group and supports the initiatives of the Government of Nicaragua aimed at initiating dialogue and removing the state of tension from Central America.

121. Indeed, that position cannot but be shared by all who truly cherish the ideal of peace and genuinely acknowledge and defend the principles of the Charter. This is what is demanded by United Nations consensus decisions on the situation in Central America, including Security Council resolution 530 (1983) and General Assembly resolutions 38/10 and 39/4. This is made abundantly clear by the violent reaction throughout the world to the most recent steps taken by the current Administration in Washington.

122. In our opinion, the Security Council will be acting correctly and responsibly if it demands that the rights of Nicaragua be respected like those of other countries, including its right freely to determine its own political, economic and social system, and if it condemns intervention in the affairs of Central America and the illegal imposition of economic embargoes and calls for an immediate end to those actions.

123. Mr. WOOLCOTT (Australia): Mr. President, I could speak about the ties that link our two countries, but it is sufficient to say that I am delighted to congratulate you, as the distinguished representative of a country of the south-east Asian region, a region of which Australia regards itself as a part, on your assumption of the presidency and to assure you of my delegation's confidence that you will discharge your duties with great distinction. I should also like to express our appreciation to the President for April, Mr. Javier Arias Stella, for discharging his duties so skilfully and effectively.

124. We are considering today developments in a region with a long history of violence and insecurity. It is a region with serious economic, social and political problems stemming from centuries of exploitation and injustice. The problems of the region may not be new, but they are serious, and the international community has an obligation to take a responsible interest in developments in Central America, as well as doing what it can to help better the lot of the peoples of that region.

125. My country is situated far from Central America, but our membership in the Security Council places upon us an obligation to play a constructive and responsible role in the search for peaceful solutions to those issues which come before the Council.

126. Australia's views on the situation have been clearly expressed on a number of occasions over the last year or so. We have pointed to the existence of unjust economic and social situations as the basic source of the region's problems, and we have urged that the East-West conflict be kept out of Central America. We have called on all countries to support the actions of the Contadora Group, which is seeking a peaceful and negotiated solution to the conflicts of the region. We have noted the concern of the Contadora countries themselves and of others with close ties to the region—such as Canada, Peru, Brazil, Argentina and Mexico—that this process should not be placed in jeopardy. Solutions to the problems of the region can come only from the people of the region themselves; they cannot be imposed from outside.

127. The Security Council should do all it can to support this process of negotiation. While it is the Contadora Group which is doing the hard work, the Council can support it by pointing to the principles and practices which should guide all States involved. Most importantly, all States should fulfil, in good faith, their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, including the obligation to settle international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered.

128. In applying these general principles to the particular case of Central America, we can make certain observations. All Central American countries have the right to live in peace and security, free from outside interference. This principle was restated in Security Council resolution 530 (1983) and remains valid today. Nicaragua has the right to choose its own form of Government, without outside interference. The use of force to resolve disputes is to be deplored, no matter who uses it. The cycle of violence in Central America must be stopped. The Contadora process should be fully supported by all States, not just in their rhetoric, but also in their actions. Trade sanctions in this case will not, in our opinion, achieve the end they are supposed to achieve, but are likely to have the opposite effect —that is, to increase tensions and thus hinder the Contadora process.

129. My delegation listened attentively to the statements of preceding speakers. Australia understands United States concerns in the region and does not deny that the United States has a right to be concerned about what is happening so close to its own borders. It is natural for all countries to be concerned about what is happening in their neighbourhood. It is in this context that the Australian Prime Minister and Foreign Minister have made clear that they do not consider the imposition of trade sanctions to be an appropriate action in the circumstances. The Australian Government regrets that this step was taken.

130. To conclude, I make a plea to all countries involved to refrain from violence or the support of violence in Central America. Australia calls on all parties to avoid provocative actions which may increase tensions or complicate the search for a peaceful solution to the problems of the region.

131. Australia expresses the solemn hope that all parties will embrace the process of dialogue and negotiation in the conduct of their relations. By such means they can work together for political, economic and social reforms, as necessary steps towards the emergence of stable Governments, supported by democratic choice throughout the region, and for a much-desired improvement of human rights. That is the objective to which all parties should dedicate themselves. That is the objective which all parties should strive to achieve. Australia hopes that this debate in the Security Council will play some part in the achievement of those objectives.

132. Mr. de KEMOULARIA (France) *(interpretation from French):* It is a pleasure to join previous speakers, Mr. President, in warmly congratulating you on your assumption of the presidency. I scarcely need to refer to the ancient ties of friendship that link our countries. Having had the pleasure of getting to know you better over a number of months, thanks to our friendly contacts, I know that your sense of negotiation and your flexible but effective authority will serve you well during your period as President. I should also like, Sir, to tell your predecessor, Mr. Arias Stella, that his term of office as President was much appreciated by my delegation. His diplomatic experience and his natural courtesy had a very positive impact on our negotiations. He knows, as I do, of the excellent relations that have united our two nations for some time—indeed, from the very beginning.

133. I should be remiss if I failed to remind the Council of the concern caused to my Government by any increase in tension in Central America, whatever its origin.

134. When military actions led the Security Council to adopt resolution 530 (1983) in May 1983, we were pleased that certain fundamental principles of the Charter were unanimously reaffirmed by members of the Council, particularly, in the fourth preambular paragraph, "the obligation of States to settle their disputes exclusively by peaceful means".

135. That unanimity about the need to find a means to bring about peaceful developments in Central America and about support for the efforts of the Contadora Group were also expressed at the last two sessions of the General Assembly, in its resolutions 38/10 and 39/4.

136. That is the course of action we wish to see taken in order to find a lasting regional solution in Central America. The conclusion and implementation of the Contadora Act would enable all the countries of Central America to develop along the lines freely chosen by their populations.

137. The undertaking of the Contadora Group cannot but be adversely affected by the coercive measures taken against Nicaragua. My country regrets all the more that that has occurred, since the Ten of Europe have just sent a special good will mission to the Group and to the States of Central America.

138. Such economic measures, like measures of a different nature which prompted the Security Council to meet in April 1984, will affect the lives of populations that have already been sorely tried. They bear within them the seeds of further internal tensions. In Central America, as elsewhere, we are quite convinced that there can be no genuine or lasting democracy unless it is founded on peace and economic and social development. That is why France supports the process of negotiation in that region and maintains relations of co-operation with the States of that area.

139. Therefore France cannot but earnestly appeal for dialogue while at the same time reaffirming its commitment to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, to the continuation of the Contadora process and to all those bilateral negotiations which have been initiated in order to produce the necessary and urgently needed easing of tension.

140. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Cuba. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

141. Mr. ORAMAS OLIVA (Cuba) *(interpretation from Spanish):* I congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of duties as President of the Security Council for this month. I am certain that with your great experience and skill you will successfully guide over the proceedings of this important body. I also congratulate Mr. Arias Stella of Peru, a distinguished colleague from the America which is watching us today with deep concern and hope in the Council's ability to assume its responsibility regarding the delicate situation in Nicaragua. The excellent work done by Mr. Arias Stella in the Council has faithfully reflected his concern for and commitment to our peoples.

142. Once again it is necesary to call upon the Security Council to consider the situation created by the unjustified, unilateral embargo the Government in Washington has imposed upon Nicaragua. This new step in the escalation of United States Government action against the people of Nicaragua must be added to the many political, economic and military acts of aggression which that country has had to endure practically from the very moment when the satrapy of the Somozas, the illegitimate offspring of Yankee military intervention in Nicaragua, was defeated. To the political harassment, the press campaigns designed to distort the image of the Sandinist revolution, the training, arming and financing of counter-revolutionary bands, the mining of ports and the carrying out of endless military manoeuvres on the borders and coasts of Nicaragua must be added the embargo now imposed to kill the people of Nicaragua with starvation.

143. The pretext used to impose this criminal embargo is the trip of the President of Nicaragua to the Soviet Union. Since when does the President of a sovereign and independent country have to ask permission of Washington to take a trip to another capital? In the

name of what legal concept or moral precept does the United States arrogate such a right to itself?

144. The time has come for human reason, wisdom and intelligence to prevail. Those who for years have in a systematic manner been poisoning with fairy-tales the atmosphere in the Central American region must stop this escalation and so avoid further suffering, death and destruction.

145. The Government in Washington must think carefully about the fact that its allies meeting in Bonn a few days ago expressed disagreement with the embargo against Nicaragua. In other places, friends of the United States have added their voices to those who disagree with that measure. Never has the isolation been greater. It must consider this carefully; it shows, furthermore, disagreement with the policy the United States has been conducting against Nicaragua for so many years.

146. Why does the United States not negotiate honestly and calmly with Nicaragua? Why does it not support with specific, tangible and serious actions the efforts of the Contadora Group to arrive at a peaceful solution, when Nicaragua has demonstrated flexibility and the political will to negotiate? This embargo is a harsh blow to the efforts of Contadora in the search for a solution. The embargo must be rescinded by those who imposed it, thus making a contribution to easing tension in the area. Why does the United States not exercise intelligence and political courage and negotiate with the legitimate constitutional Government of Nicaragua, headed by Daniel Ortega?

147. For 26 years now Cuba has been the victim of this criminal and inhuman policy of blockade, which inflicts suffering upon peoples but at the same time makes them stauncher defenders of the cause they uphold.

148. Just as 40 years ago when the roar of the cannons was falling silent, out of the ashes of the bombs in the cruel war unleashed by the Nazis and the Fascists a cry surged from the peoples, a cry is surging again: peace —peace in which to devote our energies to development. The Nicaraguan people want peace with dignity—peace to rebuild the country destroyed by Somoza; peace to rebuild that which was destroyed by the murderous bands of Somoza's henchmen who today are given logistical support and guided by the Central Intelligence Agency.

149. We ask the Security Council to heed the cry of the peoples in our America and act on the basis of the Organization's Charter by supporting the Contadora Group so that reason and dialogue may prevail and the thunder of guns and cruel embargoes by those who act with arrogance cease.

150. The Government of the United States has acted unilaterally in imposing this embargo, an action which, under the terms of the Charter, falls within the competence of the Security Council. We strongly condemn this absurd, illogical and immoral measure—with which, let me repeat, Cuba is familiar because it was imposed on us 26 years ago and may well be imposed tomorrow against anyone who will not follow Washington's dictates.

151. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

152. Mr. LWENO (United Republic of Tanzania): Mr. President, I should first like to thank you, and through you the other members of the Council, for the opportunity you have accorded my delegation to participate in the Council's deliberations on the item before it. My delegation joins previous speakers in extending to you the high tribute you so well deserve on what we know will be your successful leadership of the Council for this month. We likewise congratulate your predecessor, the President for the month of April.

153. Like every other peace-loving member of the international community, we in the Tanzanian delegation have been following developments in Central America with deep concern and therefore the debate in the Council on the complaint by Nicaragua with keen interest. We believe that at stake in the admittedly explosive situation in that area are the very principles of the United Nations, as embodied in the Charter, on which the very survival of most, if not all, nations depends and on which the future of peace and security rests.

154. On more than one occasion the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, of which my country is a devoted member, has reviewed the situation in Central America and expressed its concern at the disturbing developments there. While indeed the security of States in the area is being undermined, these developments now pose a serious threat to international peace. Therefore the timely complaint by Nicaragua to the Council and that country's call for a peaceful settlement of the dispute cannot but be commended as an expression of the spirit that should guide all the parties concerned. We therefore wish to take this opportunity to add our voice to that of the Government and people of Nicaragua in their appeal.

155. It cannot be overemphasized that a lasting solution to the problem—with regard not only to Nicaragua but to the whole area—depends entirely on strict observance of the principles of the Charter, particularly respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States. In the case of Nicaragua, a non-aligned State, its non-alignment should be respected. To that end, therefore, the parties should refrain from any acts that amount to aggression and interference in the internal affairs of other States, and no effort should be spared in seeking a solution to any disputes through peaceful means.

156. For quite some time the Contadora Group has been endeavouring to achieve a peaceful settlement of the disputes among the Central American countries, to oppose outside interference and to ease the tension in the region. The countries of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, together with the five countries of Central America, have engaged in negotiations on several occasions, making it possible for the situation in the region to develop a positive orientation. However, the independence and sovereignty of Nicaragua and other Central American countries have been subjected to continuous threat from outside, which renders it impossible to alleviate the tension in Central America. This naturally causes widespread concern among the international community.

157. At its thirty-eighth session the General Assembly took what many of us deemed to be one of the most significant decisions of that session when it adopted by consensus its resolution 38/10, entitled "The situation in Central America: threats to international security and peace initiatives". That resolution was the product of many hours, indeed many days, of hard negotiations among the members of the Contadora Group and the countries directly concerned. As we all know, that resolution, *inter alia*, unequivocally reaffirmed the right of all the countries of the Central American region to live in peace and to decide their own future free from all outside interference or intervention. It reaffirmed that respect for the sovereignty and independence of all States of the region was essential to ensure the security and peaceful coexistence of the Central American States, and it expressed support for the efforts of the Contadora Group.

158. It was our hope that such an unequivocal pronouncement of the General Assembly, made without a vote, would be a harbinger of peaceful negotiated solutions to the problems of the region. Even more important, it was our expectation that resort to threats and solutions based on force would come to an end. The very fact that, on so vexed an issue as this, it had been possible to persuade the parties directly concerned to participate in a consensus greatly encouraged the international community to look forward to an improvement in the situation on the ground.

159. It is regrettable, however, that that has not been the case and that, on the whole, things have gone from bad to worse. That Nicaragua has felt obliged to have recourse to the Council yet again testifies to the fact that, far from being alleviated, its concerns have still not been met and have even become more pressing and intense.

160. Mr. Chamorro Mora of Nicaragua, in his comprehensive exposition to the Council, brought before it yet again a series of allegations of acts of aggression and subversion and other forms of provocation against his country. The international community cannot remain passive in the face of all these acts of destabilization, all these acts of economic strangulation now being carried out against Nicaragua.

161. The position of my delegation is that we shall continue to be guided by the common position of the Non-Aligned Movement. My delegation maintains that, in order to remove tension in Central America in general and in Nicaragua in particular, it is of vital importance to put an end to all interference and threats from outside and urges all those concerned to refrain from making Central America an area for their rivalry and from displaying their military might or resorting to intimidation for that purpose. The independence and sovereignty of Nicaragua and other States of Central America should be respected, and the affairs of the various countries of the region should be left to the respective peoples themselves. In the mean time we give our support to the Contadora Group in its continued effort to achieve a peaceful and reasonable solution to the Central American question as a whole.

162. The Government of the United Republic of Tanzania pledges its solidarity with the people and Government of Nicaragua during these trying moments. The Security Council, as the body responsible for the preservation of peace and security, can do no less than give encouragement and support to ongoing genuine efforts aimed at bringing about a long-lasting peace and a just solution to the problems in Central America.

163. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Poland. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

164. Mr. NOWAK (Poland): Sir, the delegation of Poland wishes to congratulate you, the representative of Thailand, on your assumption of the presidency of this Council. We are convinced that your diplomatic skill, intelligence and wisdom will help this body to deal effectively with the difficult tasks ahead of it. I take this opportunity to express our admiration for the way in which the representative of Peru, Mr. Javier Arias Stella, guided the deliberations of the Council during the month of April.

165. Several times already my delegation has presented the position of the Polish Government on the Nicaraguan complaint to the Security Council and on the increase in tensions in Central America. Poland has asked to speak before the Council this time also in order to express its concern over certain threats to international security because their dimensions transcend the Central American region.

166. The Security Council has already dealt with open and covert acts of aggression committed against Nicaragua in spite of the readiness of the Nicaraguan Government to negotiate a solution of the conflict and in spite of the efforts of the four countries of the Contadora Group.

167. Referring to these developments, my delegation emphasized that the crisis in Central America was the result of the extension of different destabilizing factors rather than being in any way attributable to East-West

rivalry. In the view of my Government, on the one hand the origins of the problem in the Central American region were linked to the lack of economic development and to grave social injustices, while on the other hand the instability of the region was exacerbated by an intensified resort to a policy of interference and intervention as manifested by increased United States military activity in the region and threats of the use of force, pressure and economic coercion against the legitimate Government of Nicaragua.

168. It is with grave concern that we have to state that the United States has recently intensified those activities. My delegation followed with great attention yesterday the statement of the representative of Nicaragua describing in detail all the unlawful actions against his country. The development of events is causing legitimate alarm. The United States flagrant interference in the affairs of a sovereign State is demonstrated by its being made clear in Washington that what the United States Government wants is a change of government in Managua. Any further pretence about "covert action" is now ludicrous. The international community now knows beyond any doubt that the United States Administration openly supports military action against Nicaragua. A variety of measures is being applied to coerce the Sandinist Government.

169. We are witnessing another example from a long list of countries that have been subjected recently to a wide range of so-called economic sanctions imposed for purely political reasons. I use the term "so-called economic sanctions" because they were not approved by the Security Council. It is no surprise to my country, or to many others, that the policy of economic pressure against Nicaragua in order to make that sovereign State comply with the political wishes of a more powerful country originates in the United States. Using as a pretext the internal developments towards a more just and democratic order in Nicaragua, the United States has been undertaking wholly ideologically motivated action against Nicaragua encompassing every aspect of international relations, including the economic aspect.

170. It is hardly necessary to prove that such a policy is totally unlawful and inconsistent with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. In particular, the measures to which I have referred are clearly inconsistent with Articles 1 and 2 of the Charter. They depart from such fundamental principles of international law as those concerning the sovereign equality of States and respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty, non-intervention in internal affairs and co-operation among States. Such steps are followed—as in our case—by breaking international agreements and are thus in contradiction with a basic and universally recognized norm of the law of treaties, *pacta sunt servanda*. The economic restrictions also undermine the established practice of international trade relations, confirmed in various international instruments, that political elements are not introduced into trade and commerce. The said actions should be treated as unlawful and unjustified and as undoubtedly involving international responsibility for all losses and damage incurred.

171. We therefore urge the immediate revocation of any trade embargo or restrictions imposed by the United States in violation of the recognized norms and principles of international law. Existing differences should be resolved on the basis of friendly co-operation between States, through dialogue and in the spirit of the Charter. In this respect, my delegation shares the ideas of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries presented today by Mr. Krishnan of India.

172. The extension of political tensions into the sphere of economic co-operation introduces an element of uncertainty and instability. It also creates an extremely dangerous precedent for the future. Many States are reluctant to commit themselves to broader economic co-operation, fearful of increasing exposure to political pressures.

173. It is therefore, in the opinion of my delegation, high time not only to think but also to act vigorously in the direction of strengthening confidence in international economic relations. Confidence-building is a broad and prolonged process. However, starting the process of confidence-building in the most constructive spirit would make a small but important contribution to the positive restructuring of the present environment of international economic relations, thus providing a favourable stimulus to political relations. Within the framework of such steps, we can also foresee a constructive settlement of the conflict between the United States and Nicaragua.

174. There is no doubt that the main condition for the restoration of peaceful relations is the immediate cessation of acts of intervention and economic coercion. The Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America paves the way for lasting peace in the region. Poland shares the conviction of the four Contadora States that "the Contadora Group is the appropriate forum for dealing with the Central American situation", as expressed in the information bulletin from Panama City distributed as document S/17103 of 15 April 1985.

175. To conclude, the delegation of Poland, reaffirming its firm solidarity with Nicaragua, requests that the Security Council make a strong call to the parties to the conflict to abstain from any action aimed at destabilizing or undermining other States or their systems, including the imposition of trade embargoes or restrictions, blockades or other sanctions not authorized by the Council. All the parties concerned should settle their conflicts through bilateral and multilateral negotiations within the Contadora process. Further, the sovereignty of States and the inalienable right of States, Nicaragua included, to determine freely their political, economic and social systems should be reaffirmed. Last but not least, all coercive measures of an economic or other nature, which violate the principle of non-inter-

ference in internal affairs, whether imposed against Nicaragua or any other State, should be condemned as a threat to international peace and security.

176. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Algeria. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

177. Mr. DJOUDI (Algeria) *(interpretation from French)*: I am very pleased to be able, on behalf of the Algerian delegation, to express my congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are convinced that your competence and wisdom are the best guarantee of prudent conduct of the Council's work. I should also like to take this opportunity to extend my congratulations to Mr. Arias Stella, the representative of Peru, on the way in which he discharged his duties as President of the Council last month.

178. For too many years now the situation in Central America has been constantly marked by disquieting signs of a dangerous evolution. Following an inexorable logic of confrontation, it thus threatens to break out at any time, with consequences of unpredictable dimensions, into a regional conflagration fraught with danger for international peace and security. What makes matters worse is that this evolution is taking place in the global context of an international situation that is particularly troubled and in which tangible signs of renewed confidence cannot yet be discerned.

179. There has therefore been from the very beginning much food for serious thought on the part of the international community.

180. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, whose very history bears witness to solidarity and work for progress and peace, has constantly expressed its increasing concern through the assiduous attention with which it has followed events, continually voicing its support for the right of the peoples of the region to self-determination and independence.

181. The Security Council, for its part, is seized of the question and has already reaffirmed in its resolution 530 (1983) the right of Nicaragua and of all States in the region to live in peace and security free from foreign interference. That was certainly a timely reaffirmation of a right which the General Assembly has in a most responsible way devoted itself to promoting as inalienable.

182. In addition to this unanimity, four Latin American countries—Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—have undertaken painstakingly to reconstruct a consensus for peace in Central America and to achieve the translation into reality of the good will aroused by the Contadora process in the five Central American countries. Inspired by obstinate determination and optimism, these countries have devoted patient efforts to the preparation of an Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America, which, over and above the urgent search for a peaceful solution to the Central American crisis, is a genuine effort to come up with the right framework and means conducive to the restoration of confidence and the promotion of regional co-operation—in a word, to ensure sound and lasting conditions for the restoration of peace at last.

183. Firm and honest support for this Act would finally have permitted the efforts of the Contadora Group to reach the stage at which a downward spiral in the tension in Central America could have begun and accelerated. However, it seems that with the decision on the embargo on trade relations with Nicaragua the tension in the region has increased and thus justifies renewed and increased concern as to the future course of events in the region.

184. Once again we see that the situation, because of its extreme gravity, requires the greatest restraint so as to prevent any action that might provoke a sudden escalation of tension. At the same time, it makes it necessary that the greatest encouragement be given by all States, in particular the most powerful among them, to the Contadora Group, whose patient and praiseworthy undertaking merits more careful consideration and a better tribute than the imposition of a new obstacle to its persistent efforts to promote a peaceful solution to the problems of the region.

185. It is clear that the trade embargo decreed by the United States against Nicaragua is no kind of reward for the efforts of the Contadora Group, nor will it lead to a restoration of stability and peace in Central America. On the contrary, this measure is likely to cause further exacerbation of the tension at the same time as it seriously reduces the chance of a negotiated political settlement.

186. Adopted in violation of international law, this measure runs counter to the Contadora spirit of reconciliation and harmony. It is unjust in its nature and disproportionate in its scope, it will certainly harm the economic interests of a State with limited national resources which is tackling the serious repercussions on the domestic front of an international economic crisis. The impact of that crisis is all the greater because of the mobilization of all Nicaragua's national means to face the constant threat to its sovereignty and independence. Contrary to the principles of the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), annex*] the embargo is also a further attack on the principle of non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of States. It is a serious departure from the course of dialogue and negotiation. At the same time, it is proof of the continuation of a mistaken approach to the problem of Central America, which is persistently depicted as an East-West confrontation.

187. Algeria is firmly devoted to the principle of a negotiated political settlement of the problems raised by the situation in Central America, in strict respect for the right of States freely to choose their political, economic and social systems. Naturally, the Nicaraguan people cannot be denied this right, for that people, through a long struggle against dictatorship and oppression, dearly bought its right to take its place as one of the free peoples that can decide their fate in full sovereignty.

188. Recognizing that the initiative of the countries members of the Contadora Group was an action based on fundamental respect for that right, Algeria from the outset unreservedly supported their efforts. They are exemplary efforts that are a true challenge, in view of the complexity and difficulty of a task which an unfavourable international situation has made particularly acute. They are sound efforts as well, because they will lead to the necessary rehabilitation of negotiation in contrast to confrontation and will ensure that dialogue prevails over mistrust and suspicion. They are timely and persistent efforts also, since they reaffirm the urgency of reabsorbing regional conflicts within their regional framework, at the precise moment of the welcomed resumption of dialogue between the super-Powers.

189. Quite clearly, then, the work of the Contadora Group by its significance goes beyond the initial limits of an urgent recourse to an *ad hoc* initiative and reaches the level of a symbolic responsibility in efforts that basically revert to the choice laid down in the Organization's Charter, which gives pride of place to recourse to dialogue and negotiation.

190. So today we must chart the course to a true return to the spirit of Contadora by firmly and unequivocally reaffirming our support for the Contadora Group's action. This meeting of the Security Council is being held on the very eve of a meeting scheduled by the Contadora Group. It is our hope that the Council, clearheadly and calmly, will adopt a lucid position that may be seen as encouragement for the resumption of the Contadora process and, at the same time, as a message of hope for the peoples of Central America.

191. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Brazil. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

192. Mr. MACIEL (Brazil): I should first like to add my delegation's congratulations to those already expressed to the President of the Security Council as well as to the representative of Peru, the President of the Council last month.

193. My Government and I are very grateful for this opportunity to address the Security Council at this time. I should like to call the Council's attention to the statement issued by the Brazilian Government in Brasilia on the item before the Council. It has been circulated as document S/17166.

194. Brazil comes before the Security Council as a Latin American country which is deeply concerned that the crisis in Central America is becoming steadily worse. At all times Brazil has consistently defended the need for a peaceful, negotiated settlement for Central American problems, a settlement based on principles of international law and in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations. We have cautioned against acts and actions which, by transplanting into our region the problems that pertain to the East-West confrontation, can only serve to postpone the establishment of a state of peace and tranquillity in Central America.

195. The road to negotiation, particularly the one being followed with the valuable co-operation of the Contadora Group, is the only way to attain a valid result, through respect for the right of peoples to self-determination and through strict observance of the principle of non-interference.

196. In line with the position it has always taken, Brazil deplores the use of unilateral economic measures that are inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations and with the charter of the Organization of American States and that pose new obstacles to negotiated solutions. We appeal to all the parties involved to abstain, inspired by a true desire for peace, from any acts or actions that endanger the prospects for understanding and to make a direct commitment to negotiation efforts.

197. Brazil is convinced that negotiation is still the option. Those who because of their more direct interests in the Central American question have, accordingly, more concrete responsibilities must clearly and firmly exercise the option for negotiation, since neither confrontation nor the use of force will solve the problem in Central America.

198. The PRESIDENT: Four names remain on the list of speakers for this afternoon's meeting. In view of the lateness of the hour, those speakers will be called upon at the next meeting of the Security Council.

199. The representative of the United States wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply, and I now call on him.

200. Mr. SORZANO (United States of America): There have been repeated allegations that the trade embargo and other economic measures that the United States has taken in recent days constitute a violation of the Charter of the United Nations. Let me again repeat that there is nothing in the Charter that prevents a State from exercising its right to terminate trade. While under the Charter the Security Council may mandate certain types of economic measures and bind all States, the Charter in no way precludes action by individual States in pursuance of their customary and sovereign rights to safeguard their security.

201. There have also been allegations that the trade embargo by the United States against Nicaragua vio-

lates the charter of the Organization of American States. We do not believe that it does. On the contrary, our actions are consistent with that charter and further its purposes.

202. It is Nicaragua that is engaged in a course of action which is a massive violation of the charter of the Organization of American States. It is conducting a campaign of subversion and aggression against its neighbours and is violating the political and human rights of its people. The United States decision to cease trading with Nicaragua is intended primarily to prevent Nicaragua from deriving benefits from trade with the United States which would, directly or indirectly, support its illegal, aggressive and destabilizing course of action in the region.

203. The representative of the Soviet Union, Mr. Troyanovsky, spoke eloquently about the great Allied victory in the Second World War against the forces of Hitlerite fascism. He spoke movingly about the contributions the Soviet people made towards that victory, and indeed the Soviet people must be recognized as having sacrificed tremendously and as having contributed enormously to that particular victory. The Soviet representative also noted that that event of 40 years ago indicated the potential for joint collaboration in desirable directions. Had he stopped there I would not have asked to exercise the right of reply. However—and unfortunately—the Soviet representative continued by accusing the United States of violating international accords, of interfering in the domestic affairs of States and, especially, of interfering in the internal affairs of neighbouring countries.

204. What I should like to do is refresh the memory of the Council and that of the Soviet delegation. It would be nice to have historical amnesia, but unfortunately some of us are burdened with a memory of history.

205. In 1939, Hitler had the Rhineland, Austria and Czechoslovakia, and his eyes were turned towards Poland. Poland, conscious of the designs of its neighbours, had entered into a non-aggression pact with Germany in 1934 and a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union in 1932. On 26 November 1938, Poland also concluded a further treaty of friendship with the Soviet Union.

206. Yet, during the night of 23 August 1939, the German-Soviet non-aggression pact—the infamous Hitler-Stalin pact—was signed in Moscow. The pact's secret protocol stipulated that, if changes affecting Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were made, Lithuania's northern frontier should be the dividing line between German and Soviet spheres of influence, that in Poland the line should be approximately that of the Narew, Vistula and San rivers, and that Bessarabia should be a Soviet sphere of influence.

207. This cynical agreement stupefied Europe even though its secret protocol was then unknown to all but those who signed it. It led directly to the invasion of Poland by German troops on the morning of 1 September 1939. Great Britain and France declared war on Germany on 2 September, and the Soviet Union invaded Poland on 17 September. Despite the valiant resistance of which we are all well aware, Poland was conquered.

208. On 28 September 1939 another secret German-Soviet protocol modified the arrangements made that August: all of Lithuania was to be a Soviet sphere of influence, not a German one, but the dividing line in Poland was changed in Germany's favour, being moved eastward to the Bug.

209. On 10 October 1939, the Soviet Union compelled Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania to admit Soviet garrisons onto their territories. Approached with similar demands, Finland refused to comply. The Soviet Union attacked Finland on 30 November 1939. After a heroic defence, Finland was forced to sue for peace on 6 March 1940. Soviet terms were accepted: beyond the earlier demands that had led to Finnish resistance, the Finns were forced to cede areas in the Salla and Kuusamo communes and their part of the Fisher Peninsula and to undertake the building of a railway from Kemijarvi to the frontier.

210. In June 1940, Romania was compelled by the Soviet Union to cede Bessarabia and northern Bukovina.

211. On 13 April 1941, Japan concluded a neutrality pact with the Soviet Union.

212. So much for Soviet non-interference in the affairs of its neighbouring States, and so much too for Soviet attitudes about Hitlerite fascism.

213. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Nicaragua has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply. I now call on him.

214. Mr. CHAMORRO MORA (Nicaragua) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: I would have preferred not to speak in reply, as I have just asked to do. First of all, I consider that what has been said today by delegations members and non-members of the Security Council clearly demonstrates the concern of the international community about the recent measures adopted against my country, which increase tension in the region and undermine the Contadora peace process which seeks a negotiated political solution to the problems facing Central America.

215. Secondly, I would have preferred not to speak because the statement by the United States representative amazed me so much that quite frankly I have almost lost my powers of speech and my ability to think clearly and calmly.

216. Thirdly, I did not want to speak because we know about the traditional custom of the United States delegation, which is to attempt in Council debates, particularly those which have been requested by Nicaragua, to divert attention so that it will not have to answer logically and truthfully the just accusations which on many occasions Nicaragua has made against it in this lofty forum in considering the acts of aggression of which we have been victim for many years.

217. It is the general practice for that delegation, in its attempt to divert attention, to use a string of worn-out arguments regarding a whole series of aspects relating to our internal policies, arguments which, it seems to me, they don't even believe themselves. I think not even Mr. Sorzano himself sincerely believes those arguments, but he feels obliged, as a representative of his Government, to repeat them over and over again, *ad nauseam*.

218. Yesterday I spoke of the description by the United States historian, Richard Hosstadter, of the paranoid style of United States foreign policy, whose principal characteristics include a constant leap of the imagination from the incredible to the unimaginable and the characterization of the enemy as an implacable, satanic force. I also mentioned that the various United States representatives were apt to use metaphor and Orwellian inversion, and I asked who corrupted language, who polluted words, who stood on the side of truth and who was lying shamelessly.

219. Today's statement by the representative of the United States proves the truth of the assertions that I made yesterday, which is why I have ventured to repeat them. At the same time, they lead me to ask how he can have respect for this forum, which is charged with ensuring international peace and security, and how he can so underestimate the intelligence, sensitivity and understanding of the members of the Council.

220. I cannot fail to ask all these questions, which reflect my perplexity and my anxiety, having heard, among other things:

> "On every occasion that Nicaragua has appeared before the Council, it has sought either to forestall the progress of the Contadora process or to interfere in the internal affairs of the United States by seeking to influence our domestic political debate about Central America." [*Supra, para. 34.*]

I thank the representative of the United States for ascribing to my poor, small, non-aligned country that level of political, military and economic power which it exercises and through which it influences and changes processes taking place not only in Latin America and Africa but in other parts of the world, and which it also uses to prevent the realization of the desire for liberation and independence of some territories that still suffer under the colonial yoke.

221. We also heard:

> "The measures recently adopted by the United States do not violate the charter of the Organization of American States; on the contrary, our actions are consistent with that charter and further its purposes. It is Nicaragua that is engaged in a course of action which is a massive violation of the charter of the Organization of American States."

Those assertions require no further comment from me.

222. I shall not use this opportunity to refer, as the Americans are used to doing with reference to us, to the internal affairs of the United States. We respect the right of self-determination of peoples, unlike the United States, which interferes in the internal affairs of the peoples of Latin America and other regions of the world. I shall not refer to the many denunciations of violations of human rights that have recently appeared in some United States newspapers about the use of torture even here in prisons in New York. Neither shall I refer—because I do not want to interfere in United States internal affairs—to the almost 1,000 United States citizens who have been arrested in the past few days in various United States cities, solely because they oppose the unconsidered decision of the United States Government to implement a trade embargo against Nicaragua. Nor do I want to refer—because, I insist, I do not want to interfere in United States internal affairs—to the interrogation that various United States citizens have been subjected to when they have returned to United States territory after travelling to my country. Finally, I will not dwell on the investigations that have been made of a series of United States citizens simply because they had telephone contacts with our Permanent Mission to the United Nations.

223. I now turn to other aspects. I do not want on this occasion to dwell either on the well-known and thoroughly condemned double-standard policy towards my country, against which the Americans commit constant acts of political, economic and military aggression. The members of the Council and the international community are very well aware of the publications that the American press constantly makes available to us, and also know of the debates in the United States Congress and the secret documents that have circulated and have been placed at our disposal.

224. I shall not refer to the alleged desires of the United States for a political solution and for support of Contadora. It pays lip-service to the work of Contadora, but in reality its support is clearly recognized in the National Security Council document made public towards the end of last year, in which the Americans congratulated themselves on having effectively at that moment blocked the Contadora process.

225. Nor shall I dwell on their justifications today for the embargo against non-aligned, peace-loving Nic-

aragua, though I shall quote a statement made by Mrs.. Kirkpatrick when she was her Government's representative in the Security Council. She said:

> "Each of these drafts is linked in one way or another to sanctions and is consequently inimical, we are convinced, to our common objective of independence for Namibia. We do not consider economic sanctions an effective way of influencing political decisions. We believe that a study of history will support our opinion that such measures were not effective when they were applied against Italy in the 1930s or against Rhodesia in 1970."

I should like to suggest to the United States representative that his Government listen to the clamour of African peoples for the need to implement sanctions of every kind against the South African régime and its criminal policy of *apartheid*.

226. Finally, owing to the advanced hour and because representatives have other commitments, I shall not now—although I reserve my right to do so tomorrow—expand upon the extensive legal arguments that I mentioned yesterday to support our denunciation of the violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the charter of the Organization of American States and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, as well as the principles of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

227. I merely wish to pose a question to the representative of the United States, considering the content of his intervention today. If the United States really considers tiny, non-aligned, underdeveloped Nicaragua a threat to its security and its foreign policy and therefore feels obliged to declare a state of emergency, why, since it is a member of the Security Council, does it not use this lofty forum—which is entrusted precisely with watching over international peace and security—to denounce Nicaragua, which, it says, is committing aggression against it and which, it says, constitutes a threat to peace and security? If the United States is so sure of itself—if it is so sure it is not violating the Charter of the United Nations and the charter of the Organization of American States and other international agreements, why does it not resort to existing organs, such as the International Court of Justice, instead of acting in a contrary manner and disregarding the validity and competence of the Court on these issues? I think these are two existing forums available to the United States; they would provide an appropriate means for it to validate its assertions. Before using force or resorting to aggression, the United States should exhaust the available means for the peaceful settlement of disputes available to States Members of this peace-loving Organization.

228. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, who has asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

229. Mr. OVINNIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) *(interpretation from Russian)*: Whenever the United States is in the dock in the Security Council it always comes out with anti-Soviet calumny. This is the usual hackneyed trick that it uses.

230. I should like to draw the Council's attention to the fact that the representative of the United States, without even knowing what the representative of the Soviet Union would say in the Council's meeting today, nevertheless launched into a scurrilous anti-Soviet tirade in an attempt to rewrite and distort history. It was an unsuccessful, a dirty trick.

231. Yes, we are truly at odds with the United States when it comes to the lessons of history. It was the United States which, in plain view, committed a true outrage against the victims of fascism when at the highest State level a few days ago the American President laid a wreath on the graves of SS butchers. But we are not going to play into the hands of the representative of the United States and get into questions which have nothing to do with the item on our agenda.

232. We have on the agenda an item on the situation in Central America. The United States representative in his main statement has already tried once again to drag the name of the Soviet Union into what is taking place in Latin America. It was a very clumsy and unsuccessful attempt. The intervention of the American imperialists in Latin America began long, long before the Soviet Union existed on the map of the world.

233. About one hundred years ago, at the end of the last century, the United States Marines landed in Rio de Janeiro, then the capital of Brazil. What Soviet agents were they seeking? At the end of the last century, the United States Marines on three occasions landed in Buenos Aires, the capital of Argentina. What Soviet agents were they seeking then, Mr. Sorzano?

234. The United States, as I have already had occasion to say, has committed 82 acts of intervention in Latin American countries, including 10 against Nicaragua. This is why, Mr. Sorzano, despite all your slanderous assertions, it is not the Soviet Union but the United States that should be feared in Latin America. It is no accident that the president of a Latin American country with bitter irony expressed his regret that God was so far and the United States so close.

235. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the United States, who wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

236. Mr. SORZANO (United States of America): The Nicaraguan representative indicated that my presentation this afternoon so surprised him that he almost became speechless and could almost not reason straight. In view of the fact that what he said here at length a moment ago was a repetition of what he had said at length yesterday, I promise the Council that

I will try harder the next time: perhaps I will succeed in making him speechless and we will then go home earlier.

237. With regard to Mr. Ovinnikov, I thought that in view of his imminent departure it would be a pity if we did not have one further sparring match. I apologize to the members of the Council for keeping them here. I would just note that when I referred before to the Soviet Union's "friendly" relations with its neighbours I was taking an awfully small slice of Soviet history and an awfully small slice of geography. The lateness of the hour, however, prevents me from beginning to expand that slice of time and geography. As Mr. Chamorro Mora said, we all have commitments to which we have to attend. In deference to those commitments I will stop here.

238. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Nicaragua, who has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

239. Mr. CHAMORRO MORA (Nicaragua) *(interpretation from Spanish):* I shall try to keep my promise not to take up much more of the Council's time. Having heard the United States representative, however, I would merely suggest to him—not as an argument for use in his next statement to render me speechless—that he appeal to his Government to halt its aggression against Nicaragua. Then I will be silent and not need to call for meetings of the Security Council.

240. The PRESIDENT: I, too, am almost speechless. I call on the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, who wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

241. Mr. OVINNIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) *(interpretation from Russian):* The representative of the United States was right when he said that we had several sparring matches in the Security Council. What he did not say was that he did not win a single one of those matches.

242. The PRESIDENT: The representative of the United States has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply. I call on him.

243. Mr. SORZANO (United States of America): I, too, am becoming speechless but am willing graciously to concede that the Soviet representative has always bested me in all these things.

The meeting rose at 7.40 p.m.

NOTES

[1] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 367, No. 5224.

[2] Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance. Signed at Rio de Janeiro, 2 September 1947. (*Ibid.*, vol. 21, No. 324 (*a*).)

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